

ETHNOLOGY, MUSEUMS, AND FOLK CULTURE

Views to the present of the work of ethnologists in museums

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With the help of the Ministry of Culture and Education, I have been privileged to stay as a visiting researcher at the department of Ethnology of the József Attila university this academic year. In this article I will discuss my research which combines aspects of museology, ethnology – especially the history of science – and social anthropology. I will also touch upon the short lecture series on museology I gave to the students of the department.

Since the summer of 1996, as a postgraduate student of the University of Turku, Finland, I have been working on a comparative study on the Finnish and Hungarian museum ethnology. Museum ethnology in this case is defined a) as the activity of the museum professionals who have received their education as ethnologists and b) as the activity of the museums/departments of a museum which represent cultural history of non-elite groups/ strata of society.¹ The interest in “museum ethnology” grew in me during my undergraduate years in the university. I was learning the so-called museum subjects, i.e. ethnology, archaeology and art history, topped off with museology. The connection between museums and ethnology was never problematized, and yet the museum practice seemed kilometres off the university theory. The reason why this study is comparative, in fact, is a rather ethnocentric one. It is the Finnish “reality” I wish to grasp by mirroring it to the Hungarian situation. The Finnish side of this study is bound to grow more substantial than the Hungarian. The motivation to bring in another country is that this is a way to get past my own “cultural lenses”, i.e. idiosyncracies and fixed ways of seeing, as a researcher.

On the Museological and Ethnological Background of the Research

I would like to start with a short definition on museology as such. As I see it, all museum professionals are labelled “museologists” in Hungary, and the idea of what “museology” means may therefore have become slightly blurred. According to a rela-

¹Unfortunately, the definition in itself is bound to direct the research, and therefore the very basic question on what ethnology is, remains unproblematized. Therefore, this study follows the rationale reported in Gerholm (1993), anything that is done by an ethnologist is ethnology. This, of course, is not unquestionably true. For example, in Greece in the related museums, we would encounter sociologists, cultural anthropologists even linguists, and remarkably less ethnologists (see Savolainen 1997a and b).

tively fresh Nordic definition, museology is knowledge about why we (society in general and museums in particular) collect and mediate cultural heritage – which social, ideological and political reasons are decisive in what, how and why we choose to take into focus certain kind of cultural history, certain kind of cultural heritage.² It is from this point of view that my research comes partly museological. In a recent study on the future of Finnish museums, it was maintained that since the museological research has not got a tradition in the Finnish universities, the public discussion on the museum institution as such is shallow. This is seen as a drawback, since museums would need, for their success, mental investment.³ The motivating force in recent museological research in Finland seems to have been in discussing, explaining and mediating the museum questions rather than seeking a clear break from the past tradition of the profession. It is in this context that I would also like to see my own research.

There is also going on, in the field of Finnish ethnology, a clear tendency towards self-reflection within the science.⁴ On one hand, the ethnological writing of the past has been taken into the focus and analyzed again, and on the other hand, some research projects of the past have been looked at in a new light. The whats, whys and hows of the earlier generation are currently being discussed by the next. This, no doubt, is in connection to the change of the ways of perceiving, related to the final phase of modernism. Without going to the details of modern–postmodern debate here, I would just like to point to the thoughts by Lepenies. According to him, even the self-critical tendency of the modernity is still a culturally bound and western phenomenon, and so it seems, even with critique, we cannot really stand outside our little world of European-ness.⁵ The self-critique within our science, however, does not even seek to reach outside Europe. The main problematics have considered the national identity building and the role of the Finnish peasant and the rural culture of the past as a symbol of the Finnish nationality or the national character – whatever that may be. I may be wrong here, but as far as I see, the critics seem to have found actual *forging* of identity. Now, it is important to bear in mind this current in the Finnish field as a background for the study in question here. Although, at the same time, I would not like to identify too strongly with critique *per se*.

Significant part of the above mentioned critique has been directed to the ethnographic *text*. In the case of museums, they, too, can be seen as texts, in a manner of speech. It is the communicatory aspect of museums that I am mostly interested in. How do museums communicate to the surrounding society. What are the *meanings* the museum and the museum professional produce? In this context, I believe it is important to remember that communication not only consists of the message, but involves the back-

²*Museiprofessionen i Norden*, 14.

³Huopainen 1997: 44.

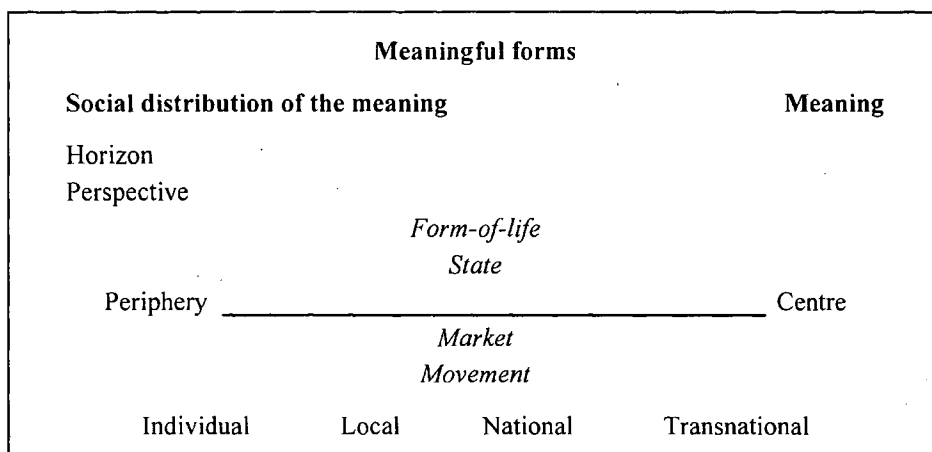
⁴See e.g. Sääskilähti 1997, Kirveennummi 1997, Junkala – Kiuru 1998.

⁵Lepenies 1996: 162.

ground, the frame of reference, of those involved in the process. To grasp the problematics here, I will have to specify the social anthropological aspects of the research.

Possibilities for Analyses in Modern Complex Societies

To study the society of our own is not an easy task. This was noted by the Swedish ethnologists Löfgren and Ehn already in the late 1970's when they developed a multiple approach called *kulturanalys* (cultural analysis) for Swedish contemporary ethnological research.⁶ To make a long story short, ever since the late 1970's a mixed use of anthropological methods has been accepted in the field of Nordic ethnology. Ethnology has also moved up the social scale and towards the modern day.



But what is going on in the world today? Hannerz, a Swedish anthropologist, in his book *Cultural Complexity*, gives some possible ways to analyse the modern globalizing societies.⁷ Hannerz' thinking differs radically from those theorists who see the world as getting homogeneous through the all-invasive market-forces. The traditional community, that has to be admitted, was relatively unaffected by the state or the market and most activity took place in person-to-person relations. That has changed now, and what is striking in the newer, contemporary culture, is the increase of the importance of centre-periphery relations. Figure 1. Transnational flow of meaning derived from Hannerz (1992). Bottom line added by the author.

The starting point in talking about culture is to define the term we are using. Culture is a three-fold phenomenon; it is divided between the *meanings* (ideas), the *meaningful forms* (things), and the *social distribution* of the two (the people). To sum up some of Hannerz' thinking, one of his main arguments is that the world culture today is divided in four main frames: form-of-life (i.e. the traditional person-to-person rela-

⁶See Ehn - Löfgren 1982.

⁷Hannerz 1992.

tions), state, market, and movement, and, it is in these frames that the meaning is being transmitted. The involment of *transnational* flow of meaning varies in different frames. In other words, some frames are more open to the flow of meaning than the others, we could take as an example the way the state regulates the flow of information as such.⁸ In this model, the role of an individual is different from those models which treat individuals as passive bearers of culture. What an individual is constantly occupied by, is an active reading of meanings from the meaningful forms that are available. And this is done through the individual's personal frame of reference which Hannerz calls the *perspective*. The perspective can also be defined as the individuals' position within his/her society. The sphere of the world from which an individual is able/willing to pick up the forms to be read, he on its turn calls the *horizon*. The subcultures, in this respect, become clusters of similar readings of the surrounding meanings. In this model, the role of intellectuals and cosmopolitans grows interesting as they can act as mediators of different cultural currents. (See the figure above.)

An aspect of the above described theoretical frame is that because of an individual's free (-ish, I have to note) reading of the forms, what seems to the surface homogeneous is not necessarily so. And, therefore, phenomena that seem similar from country to country, from place to place, may not necessarily imply the homogenisation of culture. The reading of identical forms may differ from place to place.⁹ Hannerz speaks of *creolization*, i.e. the formation of local hybrid forms of culture.

There are problems in using such a theoretical model as this. Somehow, for example, despite the metaphor of the flow, the model seems to lack in time-dimension. But the unquestionable advantage of the model is that it puts all subgroups of the society inside one model. In the case of museums and ethnology, therefore, the researchers and the professionals are in the same system with their research target and audience. The special aim of the study in question here is to develop and elaborate Hannerz' model to serve a study on the museum as an institution and museum professionals as a subculture. As a sketch, it could look like this: a) the museum as an institution has been a medium in the cultural flow of the state-frame.¹⁰ It is also increasingly using the means of the market-frame.¹¹ What effect does this have – if any – on the transnational flow of meaning in the museum context; b) the museum professionals as individuals deal with the meaning when they, firstly, themselves produce exhibitions and texts, and,

⁸For example, in many countries the state has a say in the distribution of foreign and production of national mass entertainment.

⁹Having lived in this country for some months, I could, for example, say that ownership of a mobile phone and its usage imply different meanings in Hungary and Finland. Although using this as an example is not completely to the point.

¹⁰On this, see for example Kaplan 1994, Prösler 1996, Groys 1995.

¹¹A tangible example is e.g. McLean 1997. On Hungarian context, see e.g. Németh 1997, Lovász 1998.

secondly, receive information from the flow of meaning. What then does the change of frames seem to an individual and what is the museum professional's perspective and horizon more generally. As Prösler has interestingly pointed out, the museums as such are an international phenomena and this is best manifested in such organizations as the ICOM; however, the museums have an articulated task as the guardians of a local/national culture.¹² The main question, thus, is: what is transnational and what is unique in the situation of the museums, ethnology, and the museum professional in the two respective countries?

The Specific Situation of an Analysis

To narrow down the scope of the research in question here, I have chosen to approach the problematics from two case studies. I will compare museum ethnology (see the definition above) of the provincial museum of Turku and Ferenc Móra county museum of Csongrad co. This, in fact, is the micro-level of the study, whereas the transnational flow of meaning is its macro-level. All together, there are four levels I seek to operate on: individual, local, national, and transnational.

Are the two museum systems comparable? What now seems relatively similar has come to this point through different paths, as a figure of speech. Firstly, the towns of Turku, Finland, and Szeged, Hungary themselves are relatively comparable in terms of the size of the population and the capacity of educational and cultural institutions. To go to the museums, the museum of Turku was founded in 1881 already then with the view on the cultural heritage of the province.¹³ The museum in Szeged was also founded in the late 19th century.¹⁴ Most provincial town museums of Finland were founded from 1890's onwards, and therefore, the development of the museums in Hungary is slightly earlier than in Finland¹⁵

The Hungarian central administration took as its task to regulate the museums in provinces early. Still later, in 1949, the collections were nationalized. However, the central administration was decentralized in 1962 and the county museums got their role as the supervisors of the smaller museum units in their territory.¹⁶ In Finland, there were the first experiments of the regional museums in the 1970's, and, in 1980, the first official regional art museums and provincial cultural-history museums were chosen. The role of the provincial museum, too, is to supervise, but rather in the form of advice and

¹²Prösler 1996.

¹³Heinonen – Lahti 1997: 59.

¹⁴The founding of the museum is dated to 1883, when the city library, also containing a public collection, was opened (Juhász 1989: 293–294).

¹⁵Not to mention the foundation of the Hungarian National Museum, which compared to its Finnish counterpart is significantly earlier.

¹⁶Éri 1983: 221–3, Ikvai 1983: 224–7. The national level decentralization on its turn resulted in the local level centralization as the role of the central county museum became decisive. I have been informed that after the political changeover some local museums were considering separation from the county system.

professional consultation. Therefore, the Finnish system is "looser" and more recent than the Hungarian decentralized system.¹⁷

Methods of Data Collecting and Research

Given the background of my research, it is heavily leaning on humanistic tradition and therefore mainly qualitative. It may be that general public would give more respect to research which deals with numbers and figures and therefore hints to accuracy. But in this context, *qualitative* research refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things.¹⁸ In qualitative as well as in any other approach, the chosen methods impose certain perspectives on the "reality" studied. To balance the situation, there is an approach which combines multiple lines of sight and is frequently called *triangulation*. To most researchers this is restricted to the use of multiple data-gathering techniques to investigate the same phenomena. Triangulation can, however, also contain changes of investigator, theory or methodology.¹⁹

While in Hungary, I have gathered the data by three major (and some minor) techniques. Firstly, I have collected printed material on the ethnology in museums. My main interest has been in the museum year-books, periodicals and magazines. In addition to that, I have gathered museum leaflets and brochures. The printed material not only answers the questions about museum ethnology, but also about the background of museum profession in Hungary. Secondly, I have in my own person visited the museums and museum exhibitions and made notes about them and to some extent on the behaviour of the other visitors. These two techniques have been easy in two ways: they have been relatively low cost and inobtrusive. Thirdly, I have sought to interview the museum professionals themselves using as a basis a questionnaire modified from one used in a Nordic context.²⁰ I have also been informed by a new Hungarian "museum-sociological" study carried out by the museums of Szentendre.²¹ The interview with the professional has proved the most difficult technique of the three, mostly due to the lack of a common language.²² The time-span of the first method is from the 1980's to the

¹⁷There were again changes after the Hungarian changeover; as mentioned above, the collections were nationalized in the 1940's, as a result, the ownership became a new question in the 1990's. The Finnish regional government is not based on provinces as the term is used here, the province is a spatial and historical entity, not an administrative one. The provincial museum is usually the museum of the most affluent town in the area which since the 1980's therefore has gained new tasks.

¹⁸Berg 1989: 2.

¹⁹Berg 1989: 4 < Denzin 1978: 295.

²⁰*Museiprofessionen i Norden*.

²¹Ikvai-Szabó 1996: 337–347.

²²When using an interpreter in the process, or speaking in a person's second language, the nuances of language and for example avoidance techniques of the interviewed cannot be reached. Mostly, the questions deal with career choices and opinions which are relatively neutral.

1990's, with some exceptions.²³ The time-span of the second method is even shorter, from 1996 to 1998. The third method, i.e. the interview, is a special case, as the human thought works in retrospective and in the future as well.

The methods in Finland will be somewhat similar, but the material to be used, especially on the national background is larger.

The Young Thinking

As mentioned above, the human thought works in retrospective and in the future as well. The future of museum ethnology was discussed by our study group in the spring semester 1998. By the kind permission of the Department of Ethnology, I gave a short course in Museology to some of the students. In accordance to the Nordic definition of museology, only one fifth of the course dealt with the museum praxis, so called museography. During that time we discussed marketing the museum product in the light of certain European examples. Mostly, the course was aiming at rising the students' awareness on the ethical aspects of dealing with cultural heritage and phenomena closely connected to identities.

The group size of the students varied from six to eight and finally six of the students sat through the course. The students got a task to keep a study journal, that is, they were expected to think – in a written form – over the themes touched upon during each class and finally, by the end of the course, write a summary on their thoughts. This summary, on its turn, would be given to me, the teacher, for my information and individual answering of the questions. In this way the communication process of the course became interactive. I was giving information to the students as usual in the form of a lecture, but I was also receiving it in the form of the journal and finally answering back. In addition to this, at the last class I was silent and the students had prepared spoken representations of a museological theme of about 10 minutes duration. This way they got a chance to speak to one another, too. And therefore the communication was not only vertical (student–teacher) but also horizontal.

Because our time was limited to six lessons, there was a special reader for the students which they were expected to work through on their own time. The reader consisted of articles, mostly from the outstanding Hungarian museological periodical *Magyar Múzeumok* (in Hungarian), arranged under certain topics, such as Museums, Exhibitions, Publications, Museum Thinking, Conservation, and Relations. In addition to that, I introduced some articles and books by various European authors during the course as we went along. Therefore, it was to a high degree up to the student how much information to gain from the course. I could control the amount of information from the

²³Some important documents from the history of museological thought in Hungary are included, such as Bátky 1992, Jankó 1989.

journals the students wrote, as they clearly showed on what basis the student was writing.

The oral presentations varied from exhibition reviews to reviews on books and articles. Different types of museums, exhibitions, museum professionals' personal image, exhibition techniques, collection work on the field, the usage of computers, and the way museums are represented in press were touched upon among other things. The students gave their presentations in good English and it was visible that everyone had given some serious thought on their chosen subject. We could also see a videotape and brochures and other material the students had brought to the class.

The students were not used to working with the journal, and I got an impression that they did not work on it consistently. However, as a final result, I received journals – one written in a form of a letter – from the students. In these journals they gave their own opinions on their future profession and their views on the future of museums. Some of the texts were very personal in their nature, pondering on the future of a graduate from the humanities, whereas others were more concentrating on the museums as places and institutions. One of the students pointed out that she is not used to giving her own opinion about things – within the university frame, that is – and therefore writing with direct personality seemed odd to her. I cannot help wondering on whether a journal-type form of working is culturally more adoptable in some cultures than others, but this remains unanswered until I get more experience in teaching and learning in other countries.

To sum up briefly the main thoughts of the future museologists, there were certain tendencies in all papers. What seemed to worry them was the lack of money. This idea they had gotten from the articles in *Magyar Múzeumok*. The possibility of connecting the museums with the leisure industry in the future was also discussed as well as the usage of multimedia and computers in museum education. The very question what to represent in the museum and with what kind of authority was discussed in one journal, as well as the role of a museum in a low-esteem minority group. A very common opinion was that museums should become more interesting and less "dusty". Another interesting point by one of the students was whether the western museography can be directly applied to the Hungarian situation at all. With all the respect to the earlier and the present generation of museum professionals, it is necessary that this generation who will find their place in the field in the next century develops new ways of seeing and thinking, and therefore I think teaching theoretical museology is necessary alongside the more traditional museum subjects. I hope that this brief summing up of my students' thoughts – or rather, the quality of their thinking – will make my point.

Concluding Remarks

It has been a great pleasure to work with the students and the staff of the Department of Ethnology. I also owe thanks to the Institute of Hungarian Studies of JATE.

It is with their help that I have been able to grasp the modern Hungarian society as such.²⁴ It is, however, an impossible task to get hold of a society and its culture in just eight months. Not to mention that Hungary is one of the so-called transition societies where the institutions are presently taking new form and shape. I feel privileged to have been able to be here now and to observe the discussion and the way the transnational cultural currents are changing their direction and frame. Who could ask for a more suitable place to test the theory of the flow of meaning in practice?

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²⁴Due thanks should also go to the Ferenc Móra museum and the department of Museology at the university of Miskolc.

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NÉPRAJZ, MÚZEUMOK ÉS NÉPI KULTÚRA

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A finnországi Turkuban diplomázott szerző az 1997/98-as egyetemi évben Néprajzi Tanszék posztgraduális kutatója volt. Ebben az írásában kutatási tervét mutatja be, és összegzi a tanszéken tartott óráinak tapasztalatait.

Kutatásában muzeológiai, néprajzi (főképp tudománytörténeti) és szociálintropológiai megközelítéseket ötvözt. A muzeológiát itt a Skandináviában elfogadott értelemben használja mint „tudást, amely által a társadalom általában, de főképp a múzeumok összegyűjtik és közvetítik a kulturális örökséget.” Ez a muzeológia arra kíváncsi, hogy „milyen társadalmi, ideológiai és politikai okok a döntőek abban, hogy mit, hogyan és miért sorolunk a kulturális örökségbe”. A finn néprajzon belül az utóbbi években egyre nagyobb szerepet kap az önreflexivitás. A korábbi kutatások és az ezek során keletkezett néprajzi szövegek ismét a figyelem középpontjába kerültek, a kutatási eredmények és a szöveg megalkotását vizsgálva. A néprajzi szöveg iránti érdeklődés meghatározó a mai kutatásokban.

A szerző a múzeumok kommunikációs aspektusát vizsgálja ebben az írásában. A kommunikáció itt az üzenetet és az információcserében részt vevő emberek kulturális hivatkozási keretét egyaránt magában foglalja. A kommunikációs modell a svéd Ulf Hannerz egy szociálintropológiai tanulmányából származik. A szerző felhívja a figyelmet, hogy ebben az esetben ez a megközelítés csak bizonyos megkötésekkel alkalmazható, melyek közül a legnyilvánvalóbb az idő dimenzió hiánya. Ugyanakkor e megközelítés előnye, hogy a kutatót és kutatása tárgyát illetve a múzeumi szakembereket és a múzeumok közönségét egy rendszerben vizsgálja.

A kutatások végső célja a finn és magyar múzeumi néprajz összehasonlítása. A múzeumi néprajz alatt itt egyrészt a néprajzi oktatást kapott múzeumi szakemberek tevékenységét érti, másrészt a múzeumok, illetve azok egyes osztályainak tevékenységét, mellyel a kulturális örökséget bemutatják a társadalom különböző csoportjainak. Azért előnyös két ország vizsgálata egy tanulmányban, mert így kikerülhetők a „kulturális lencsék”. A végső tanulmányban azonban a Finnországot elemző rész nyilván részletesebb lesz.

A szerző bemutatja, hogyan szűkíthető az adatgyűjtés módszere az egyes esettanulmányoknál.

Végül ismerteti a néprajzi tanszéken tartott rövid muzeológiai kurzusát. Az előadásokat vita és egy ‘study journal’, egy itt korábban nem használt módszer egészítette ki. A szerző ismerteti a diákok által itt felvetett ötletek némelyikét is.

Végül a szerző szeretné kifejezni köszönetét a Néprajzi Tanszéknek és a Hungarian Studies programnak, elismerve, hogy nyolc hónap rendkívül rövid idő egy másik ország és kultúra teljes megismerésére.

(Az összefoglalót Pusztai Bertalan fordította.)